571 /73 cont./ buried in Borongkaluku. But the adat community
612 head who is of advanced age has already stated that he wants
764 to be buried in Parang Banua, close to the place where his parents and uncles likewise lie buried.

An Ornament In Statu Nascendi

532 There is a small, crudely carved wooden image approxi-
778 mately 25 centimeters high wrapped in a dirty white cloth
612 in the pantasa' of the house belonging to the Kapala of /74/
669 Bontoromba. The father of the present-day Kapala had carved this himself and given it ot his son, who told me about it. It was shown to me with a certain reverence, but nevertheless also with a certain shyness. There was no sign of its being worshipped by the kinsmen of the Kapala. No tomanurung myth was connected with it. What is the significance of this little image which is kept in such an important place?

It has already been pointed out that the Kapala group is a young but already well-integrated group of relatives. The tie with Pakatto is present, but it is weak.

114 Kooreman has pointed out that the assumption of conquest as one of the most important causes for the formation of kingdoms is irreconcileable with their federal administration (1). He believed instead that this cause lies in a voluntary

1. See Kooreman, op. cit., p. 194.

act of joining the federation and submission to the authority of a tomanurung. "One should not imagine that the time of the Tomanoeroengs is past," he wrote in 1883 (2).

2. See Kooreman, op. cit., p. 193.

532 778 612 669 /74 cont./ After the subjection of the princes of South Celebes in 1905, this period of the tomanurung had passed, however. Tomanurung were thought to deceive and to disturb the peace. They were no longer given an opportunity to create a federation. In spite of this, however, the belief in the tomanurung did not disappear.

It may be that the Kapala of Bontoramba counts on the possibility of a tomanurung appearing who will unite his presently well-integrated group with a number of neighboring groups into a federation. The group from which the ornament of the federation is derived will, as a matter of course, have the leadership. The Kapala is prepared for this. The image is, as it were, an ornament in statu nascendi /in the nascent state/.

The Sacred Spot of Borongloë

778 773 A five-minute walk from the head's house leads to a grove, the so-called "Flat Rock," (batu lappara') of Borongloë (3). On it /75/ stood, according to the myth, the

[103]

3. Many call the rock batu napara', which according to Matthes' dictionary (p. 635) means "a smooth rock with the bottom part in the water; a rock that is stretched out flat."

ancestral couple of the present-day head's group of relatives, at the moment when they made their final statements to the people prior to ascending to heaven (1).

1. Friedericy relates this myth in his own words in his dissertation. See there, pp. 506 ff.

Gorontalo OG4
Java OE1
Makassar OG6

[193 cont.]

I 776 772 [773] and earth, between the gods and man, was a very busy one. By means of high mountains, lianas, and rattan, man was able to reach the dwelling of the gods. Everything in heaven is beautiful and sparkling, but otherwise life there is like life on earth. It is noteworthy, however, that it is easy to deceive the gods. For example, one can make them believe that a pig or a buffalo is being given as an offering when in reality one is offering something paltry.

I 776 Apart from the demigods there are also mountain, sea, and tree gods or spirits. Mountain gods are chiefly volcano gods.

J G 776 [782] In Minahasa every volcano is inhabited by a god, to whom human sacrifices are made. This was also the case on Java, especially in connection with Brâmâ. The Brâmâ festivals are still celebrated every year, but without human sacrifices, of course. The disasters often caused by these volcanos led people to believe that the gods were the cause, and sacrifices were made to them in order to gain their favor.

J 776 782 Sacrifices are also made to the sea gods on most of the islands. Persons who look for edible bird nests on the southern coast of Java bring offerings to the sea godess Njai (or Ratoe) Lårå Kidoel, a godess who is mentioned as early as the Javanese chronicles.

M 776 532 [831] [194] In southern Celebes a sea god is revered under the sign of a linga and a yoni (representations of human genitals). The name of this god is Karaeng Lowé, "Great Lord." This cult is perhaps of Hindu origin or of animistic origin influenced by Hinduism. The inhabitants expect everything from Karaeng Lowé, for he is almighty and able to give life and happiness and also to destroy them. There is no question of one god here, but each area has its Karaèng Lowé.

I 776 The Indonesians have many tree gods or spirits, although they are of even lower rank than the demigods mentioned above. If people hinder them or go through their territory, they do only evil. One can protect oneself against their evil by means of amulets, and if one is made sick by such a spirit, he can be